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THIRTY-EIGHTH YEAR

2437th MEETING: 19 MAY 1983

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2437)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
Letter dated 5 May 1983 from the representative of Nicaragua on the Security Council addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15746)	1

NOTE

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2437th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 19 May 1983, at 11 a.m.

President: Mr. UMBA di LUTETE (Zaire).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2437)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Letter dated 5 May 1983 from the representative of Nicaragua on the Security Council addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15746).

The meeting was called to order at 11.45 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 5 May 1983 from the representative of Nicaragua on the Security Council addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15746)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings devoted to this item [2431st to 2436th meetings], I invite the representative of Honduras to take a place at the Council table. I also invite the representatives of Algeria, Argentina, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mali, Mauritius, Mexico, Panama, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Spain, the Syrian Arab Republic, Uganda, Venezuela and Viet Nam to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ortez Colindres (Honduras) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Muñiz (Argentina), Mr. Albán Holguín (Colombia), Mr. Mangouta (Congo), Mr. Zumbado Jiménez (Costa Rica), Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Knipping Victoria (Dominican Republic), Mr. Rosales-Rivera (El Salvador), Mr. Ibrahim (Ethiopia), Mr. Dountas (Greece), Mr. Taylor (Grenada), Mr. Quiñones-Amézquita (Guatemala), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Vongsaly (Lao People's Democratic Republic),

Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Traoré (Mali), Mr. Maudave (Mauritius), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Mr. Ozores Typaldos (Panama), Mr. Cassandra (Sao Tome and Principe), Ms. Gonthier (Seychelles), Mr. de Piniés (Spain), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Otunnu (Uganda), Mr. Martini Urdaneta (Venezuela) and Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like also to inform the members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of India and Yugoslavia in which they asked to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Krishnan (India) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The member of the Council have before them a draft resolution in document S/15770, sponsored by Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Togo, Zaire and Zimbabwe. The Council also has before it document S/15771, containing the text of a letter dated 13 May 1983 addressed to the President of the Security Council by the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua.

4. The first speaker is the representative of India. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

5. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): It is my pleasant duty at the outset to extend to you, Sir, the sincere felicitations of my delegation on your assumption of the office of President of this body for the month of May. Your country and my own enjoy traditionally close and cordial relations. We take special pride in seeing in the chair the representative of a fellow non-aligned country. We are confident that, with your rich experience and diplomatic acumen, you will be able to guide the proceedings of the Council in a constructive and purposeful manner, not merely in the course of the present debate but during the remaining period of your stewardship of the Council.

6. For the second time in less than two months Nicaragua has felt obliged to come before the Council pointing to the serious situation that exists within and around its borders as a consequence of insurgent activity. The Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua, Mr. Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann, has presented Nicaragua's case before the Council [2431st meeting] in telling terms and with his customary lucidity. We share the anguish of Nicaragua, a non-aligned country with which we have very friendly and co-operative relations. It is clear that the situation in Central America has continued to deteriorate, carrying within it the seeds of a possible wider conflagration in the region, evoking ever-increasing concern and distress. During the debate on this item last March [2420th to 2427th meetings], a larger number of delegations gave expression to their anxiety over developments in the region. During the present debate this month several delegations have given further expression to ever-growing concern.

7. The provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the objectives and principles which guide the countries of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries clearly stipulate that every State must enjoy the right to chart its own course, to pursue its own political and social system and to determine the destiny of its people without any form of external pressure, interference or intervention. That right was reaffirmed recently by the heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at their Seventh Conference, held at New Delhi in March, when they declared the right of any State to freely choose its own political, social and economic system to be of paramount importance. In the course of its most recent statement in the Council, on 25 March [2423rd meeting], my delegation had occasion to apprise the Council *in extenso* of the pronouncements made in the context of the situation in Central America by the seventh summit conference of non-aligned countries, and I need not repeat those again today.

8. It is an established lesson of history, particularly the history of the Central American region, that peace and stability can be built only on the basis of an acceptance of shared aspirations and the affording of full scope to a pluralism of political values and systems. It cannot be served by the exclusion of one or another State from the mainstream of regional development on one pretext or another. The Government of India believes that the present situation in Central America must not be allowed to deteriorate further, for if it did it could escalate into a horrible conflict, which nobody wants and in which all would be losers. It is incumbent upon the Council to ensure that this does not happen. The path to peace is through dialogue and negotiations.

9. We believe in this context that the efforts of the Contadora Group to build further upon its initiative to promote peace in the region through a process of dialogue constitute a step in the right direction. We welcome the positive response of all States in the region to these efforts. The information bulletin issued after the last meeting of the Group at Panama City on 11 and 12 May [S/15762, annex] launched an appeal for scrupulous

observance of the principles that should govern relations among States in the region. Essentially these are: self-determination and non-interference in the affairs of other States, the obligation not to allow the territory of a State to be used for the commission of acts of aggression against other States, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the prohibition of the threat or use of force to resolve conflict.

10. It is our sincere hope that the States of the region will heed this call and co-operate fully with the Contadora Group in its efforts to de-escalate tensions in the area and to bring about peace, stability and co-operation in Central America. We are also confident that resolute action now by the Security Council would provide much-needed support and encouragement for the Contadora Group in its noble efforts.

11. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

12. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): I wish to join previous speakers, Sir, in congratulating you on the assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. We are convinced that you, as a representative of a friendly and non-aligned country, will provide the leadership necessary for successful work by the Council. I should like also to convey our appreciation and congratulations to Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick, the representative of the United States, who so ably presided over the Council's proceedings in the course of the month of April.

13. The issue of the complaint by Nicaragua has remained unresolved by the Security Council. The exhaustive debate held in the Council in March outlined the principal problems and, at the same time, pointed to the differences burdening the efforts aimed at solving them.

14. The Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua, Mr. Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann, asked clearly and eloquently at a recent Council meeting for dialogue, a search for peace and a political solution.

15. We wish to give our support to the Council's endeavours to enhance the existing efforts aimed at a peaceful, political solution of the dispute, and we believe that the situation in Central America should not be allowed to deteriorate any further.

16. We believe that the solution of the problems of Central America, a region deeply shaken by political controversies, social unrest and economic problems, can be achieved only through negotiation and respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. In this context, the initiative of the countries referred to as the Contadora Group is invaluable. Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela earlier elaborated a framework for a political solution based on the Charter and the principles of non-alignment. That framework deserves the full support of all involved and all the interested parties, as well

as the international community at large. The perception and action of the members of the Contadora Group are particularly valuable since they belong to the same region and are close to the problems facing Central America today. They have proceeded from existing realities and proposed a comprehensive, political, peaceful solution based on negotiations and on justified demands for national and political emancipation, taking into account the historical necessities of development.

17. Only last week, the Foreign Ministers of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, in an information bulletin [*ibid.*], repeated their call for observance of the principles of self-determination, non-interference and respect for territorial integrity. They also underlined the obligation of all States not to allow their territory to be used for purposes of aggression against others and called for the peaceful solution of the conflicts and the rejection of the threat or use of force to resolve them. They appealed to the Central American countries to contribute to the cause of peace and pledge their political will to search for dialogue and understanding. Moreover, they have arranged for another meeting at the end of May.

18. Yugoslavia gives its full support to those efforts of the Contadora Group. We believe these are the premises from which to proceed to halt further deterioration of the situation, eliminate foreign interference, prevent the transformation of that region into an area of big-Power and bloc rivalry and achieve peace in that troubled region.

19. As I have said, we are deeply concerned by the developments in Central America and the ever greater threat—now even through incursions of armed groups—to the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unhindered development of Nicaragua. Nicaragua is in the Central American and the Caribbean area, where increased pressures and foreign interference threaten to turn the region into a dangerous focus of crisis, with far-reaching consequences.

20. Differences in political systems are, in our view, an inherent feature of the contemporary world, and efforts to transform them by foreign intervention and the imposition of foreign models by any side always endanger peace. We support the people of Nicaragua in its determination to consolidate its independence on the basis of the authentic principles of the policy of non-alignment, outside bloc confrontation and the struggle for spheres of influence and domination.

21. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held last March at New Delhi, pointed to the danger of perceiving the situation in Central America within the context of East-West confrontation. It reaffirmed the need to implement the principles of the policy of non-alignment, particularly the right of countries to choose freely their political, social and economic systems. It also called for respect for the principle of non-interference and non-intervention. The authentic principles of non-alignment continue to be the basic criteria underlying Yugoslavia's attitude to the problems of this and other regions. Therefore, we oppose any

kind of pressure or interference in the internal affairs of the countries of Latin America, Central America and the Caribbean.

22. The draft resolution submitted by the non-aligned countries members of the Security Council—Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Togo, Zaire and Zimbabwe—complements the efforts of the Contadora Group. It neither condemns nor recriminates but shows the way to search for peace. We feel that the draft resolution deserves the Council's support.

23. Finally, we feel that at a certain point in the future it may very well be necessary to draw upon the knowledge, authority and wisdom of the Secretary-General.

24. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): There are no more speakers on the list at this stage of the debate, but before proceeding to the vote on the draft resolution which is before us, I give the floor to the representative of Malta.

25. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): As the moment of decision is upon us, I wish briefly to compliment you, Sir, on your assiduously efficient work since your assumption of the presidency and also to praise the charming and dedicated performance of your predecessor.

26. In deference to the wishes expressed to us by a number of Latin American countries and in conformity with the dictates of diplomatic courtesy and practice, the sponsors of draft resolution S/15770 have agreed that the opening words of paragraph 4—"Calls upon"—should be replaced by "Urges". I believe that in the interest of factual accuracy it is also necessary that the date of the communiqué of the Contadora Group referred to in the sixth preambular paragraph should be "12 May 1983" instead of "13 May 1983". With those two exceptions, the text remains unchanged, and the sponsors commend it to the favourable attention and decision of the members of the Council.

27. As members are aware, the draft resolution is the outcome of a sustained collective effort. The text speaks for itself and takes into account to the extent possible all the views expressed in the course of our debate condensed into a positive formula which encourages dialogue, mutual understanding, restraint and concerted efforts in the search for peace and development. We therefore hope that it will be adopted unanimously.

28. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Malta for the clarification given. It is my understanding that the Council is now ready to take a vote on the draft resolution presented by Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Togo, Zaire and Zimbabwe contained in document S/15770, as orally amended.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously [resolution 530 (1983)].

29. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): As the resolution is adopted, I shall call upon those members who wish to make statements after the vote. I call upon the representative of Guyana.

30. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): Since this is my first formal statement in the Council for the month of May, Sir, permit me to welcome your return to New York as the head of Zaire's mission to the United Nations. I also congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of May. Our agenda for the remainder of this month is daunting, indeed, but my delegation is confident that with your mature wisdom, your diplomatic skill, your vast experience and your fortitude you will guide the Council's work successfully during what remains of this month.

31. At the same time, I must pay tribute to your distinguished predecessor, Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick of the United States, for the very competent manner in which she conducted the Council's affairs during the month of April.

32. This is the second occasion since April 1982 that Nicaragua has approached the Council, and on each of these two occasions the representatives of that Government have described situations that have deteriorated considerably since the preceding complaint and that move the entire Central American region closer to an all-out war.

33. Members of the Council agree that there is nothing arcane or mysterious about the charges which the Nicaraguan Minister for External Relations advanced here last week [2431st meeting]. The news media, including *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines, have been generous and graphic, indeed, in their descriptions of the involvement of the Central Intelligence Agency in equipping and training anti-Sandinist elements. We have before us, as a Security Council document [see S/15753], an article from *The Washington Post* of 8 May in which the writers describe the deepening concern being felt in Washington about the nature and extent of these activities being perpetrated against Nicaragua.

34. The representatives of Nicaragua are therefore performing a valuable service to the cause of peace in Central America in denouncing before the Council and in exposing to the attention of the world the systematic escalation of aggression against their country, in gross violation of its sovereignty and territorial integrity and jeopardizing the peace and security of the Central American region and beyond. The Council, as the body with primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, has an obligation to make a credible and effective response to the situation which Nicaragua has brought to our attention.

35. For this reason, my delegation would have preferred a more forthright and unequivocal response by the Council to the systematic and escalating aggression of which Nicaragua is the victim. Yet this did not prevent us from supporting and even co-sponsoring the resolution which

we have just adopted. We believe that even in this form the resolution represents an expression of the profound concern which is being felt not only within the region but throughout the international community for the acts of aggression being perpetrated against Nicaragua.

36. Guyana makes a solemn appeal for an end to these acts, for an end to intervention against this country. Nicaragua's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity must be respected, as must be the right of the people of that State to pursue its own political, economic and social development free from outside interference or pressure of any kind. Likewise, States must refrain from allowing their territories to be used as springboards for aggression against others and must settle their disputes by exclusively peaceful means.

37. It has been said and repeated *ad nauseam* in this forum and elsewhere that the problems facing the peoples of Central America have their roots in the archaic and unjust political and economic structures which they have inherited. These problems are not explainable in terms of an East-West confrontation, and it is a dangerous mistake to try to fit them into an ideological mould. These problems require, instead, peaceful solutions through political, negotiated settlements between parties concerned.

38. In this regard, my delegation would like to pay a special tribute to the countries in the Contadora Group—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—for their patient, painstaking efforts on behalf of peace.

39. The thrust of the diplomatic activity of the Contadora Group, that of promoting solutions to Central American conflicts by peaceful means through negotiated solutions, symbolizes the consensus of the overwhelming majority of the international community on the problems facing Central America and what the approach to their solution should be. My delegation calls for the most active support for and co-operation with these States in their noble efforts on behalf of peace. In this connection, we would like to underscore their call issued to Central American countries in the bulletin of 12 May "to help attain the goal of peace and, to that end, to apply their political will to search for ways leading to dialogue and understanding to settle their current differences" [see S/15762, annex].

40. The resolution just adopted does not give a direct role to the Secretary-General in relation to the efforts of the Contadora Group. Guyana has consistently taken the position that the United Nations represents the best shield for the protection and defence of arrangements for the promotion of peace and security. Guyana would like to pay a tribute to the concern which the Secretary-General, for his part, has been demonstrating at the existence or persistence of situations of tension and instability in whatever part of the world and to his resolute, dedicated pursuit of the goal of peace. We reaffirm our support for him in these endeavours. My delegation would therefore have liked to see in the Council's resolution a greater role given to the Secretary-General. We are reas-

sured by the confidence that his good offices nevertheless continue to be at the disposal of all who seek peace and stability in Central America.

41. Mr. de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France) (*interpretation from French*): I should first like to express to you, Sir, our warm congratulations on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. The responsible functions you have performed here, in your country and elsewhere in the world have fitted you particularly well to exercise your office with exceptional confidence and authority. Your accession to the presidency is also a source of great satisfaction for my country, which has particularly friendly and trustful relations with yours. I should also like to extend our congratulations to your predecessor, Mrs. Kirkpatrick, who performed the functions of President of the Security Council for the month of April with remarkable tact and skill.

42. I should like now briefly to make clear the spirit in which my delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution that has just been adopted.

43. It has always been France's opinion that in this region beset with tensions and conflicts the countries of the region should themselves seek for peaceful and negotiated solutions. We believe that any regional action should deal particularly with the deep-rooted causes of the problems of Central America, which are of an economic and social nature, and should do everything to ensure that such tensions do not become an element in the East-West conflict.

44. This is why France was one of the first countries to welcome and to support the initiative taken by the Contadora Group. France earnestly hopes that the regional action taken by that Group leaves the door open to all the means of settlement, including bilateral negotiations between countries directly concerned. It is furthermore in that spirit that we welcomed the initiative of the Presidents of Mexico and Venezuela in September 1982.

45. With regard to the role of the United Nations, I would mention that the position of France was set forth very thoroughly in the letter I addressed to the President of the Security Council on 6 April [S/15689].

46. France would like to express the earnest hope that there will be a positive outcome to the action undertaken by the four countries members of the Contadora Group.

47. Mr. D'ESCOTO BROCKMANN (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We came before the Council to explain the serious consequences for Nicaragua of the immoral and totally unjustifiable armed invasion of our country from Honduran territory by Somozist mercenaries directed and financed by the Reagan Administration. We also explained the dangers—not only for Nicaragua but also for international peace—that stem from the fact that this major Power is using the Government and army of the sister Republic of Honduras to perpetrate aggression against Nicaragua, and in this connection we performed

our duty of alerting the Security Council, and through it the international community as a whole, to the fact that, to the extent that the Government of Honduras continues to allow itself to be used by the United States as an instrument in this dirty war, the possibility of war between Nicaragua and Honduras, which we have always wished and continue to wish to avoid, will become increasingly real.

48. We stated clearly that our people and our Government want peace and that because we want peace we have come to the Council for the third time in quest of a clear and categorical answer that will remind all States of the obligation to respect the principles of the Charter and Nicaragua's right to live in peace and security, free from all outside interference. We also asked that the Council remind all States of their obligation to use dialogue to solve situations that may threaten international peace.

49. It is my belief that this resolution, which was sponsored by all eight non-aligned countries members of the Council and subsequently endorsed by the seven other members, is an important one and that, if it is taken into account with the seriousness due all Council resolutions, it should succeed in bringing about the end of the armed invasion of and aggressions against Nicaragua and in ensuring respect for our territorial integrity and sovereignty.

50. With this resolution the competence of the Security Council in the matter of the acts of aggression against Nicaragua is clearly and categorically established, as is our own right to return to the Council if, despite the resolution, the acts of armed aggression against Nicaragua being directed by the United States using third countries as its base are not brought to an end.

51. In expressing Nicaragua's gratitude first to the countries that sponsored the resolution, we should also like to thank the entire Council for its efforts to achieve a resolution that, although it is certainly the minimum required by an objective analysis of the facts, must not be underestimated, particularly when we take into account the fact that the aggressor country is in fact—and why not say so—a Power that considers itself untouchable.

52. The very fact that the United States did not oppose the resolution is one we would wish to interpret as a manifestation of its will to put an end to armed aggression against our country and to respect the right of the people of Nicaragua to live in peace and security free from any foreign interference.

53. As I have said, we would like to be able to construe in this way the attitude displayed today by the representative of the United States. However, I have to express some fears that we may be wrong, since only the day before yesterday—some 36 hours ago—President Reagan, in a press conference, once again actually admitted his support to the mercenaries who are attempting to overthrow our Government.

54. Permit me to quote the question put to President Reagan and his reply, which form the basis for these comments. The question was:

"Since you have described the Sandinist régime as hostile and opposed to our interests in the western hemisphere, why are we not openly supporting those 7,000 guerrillas who are rebelling, instead of lending them assistance by means of covert operations?"

The President's reply was, "Because we want to continue to abide by the laws of our country." Because they want to continue to abide by their legislation, they will not do openly what they obviously recognize they are doing covertly.

55. Nevertheless, we hope that the position taken here a few minutes ago by the representative of the United States means a change of policy, a new readiness to respect the principles of the Charter and to resolve conflicts exclusively by peaceful means and not to resort to the threat or use of force or unlawful pressure to impose its will upon our country, as stated in the fourth preambular paragraph of the resolution and repeated in the sixth. Accordingly we hope that the United States will accept the frank and constructive dialogue that Nicaragua has always proposed and that has always met with a systematic rejection on the part of the Reagan Administration.

56. We want to have normal relations with the United States. We shall never bow to its pressure, its threats or its invasions, but the fact that we defend our sovereignty and independence must not be construed by any country as a hostile or unfriendly act. Whoever takes offence at our position of independence and non-alignment does so because he is not really interested in friendship, which must always be based on respect, but is only trying to subjugate us. We will always be friends to those who want our friendship. We will never be subservient to anyone.

57. Our watchword of "free homeland or death" is not an empty one; it is the clearest expression of the feelings of the children of Sandino.

58. In our statements during the debate we have clearly stated that we did not come here to discuss the problems existing in each of the Central American countries—oppression, political assassinations, the assassinations of bishops and of national or foreign religious figures, summary executions, the existence of death squads or the genocide that is perpetrated in some countries—all of which the world is aware of and have been condemned in the Commission on Human Rights and the General Assembly itself.

59. We came here to speak of the invasion of Nicaragua and not what is taking place in other countries of Central America or the situations endangering international peace which may arise from the refusal of a Central American country to recognize the sovereign existence of another nation of the region. While we have referred to Honduras, it was not to speak of the merits or demerits of its demo-

cratic system, which is so much to the liking of President Reagan and Mrs. Kirkpatrick. Honduras has been very much involved in this debate because of its policy of complicity in the invasion and aggression directed by the Reagan Administration through Honduran territory against Nicaragua, a fact which obviously constitutes the most serious danger to international peace in Central America.

60. In this connection, we attach particular importance to the third preambular paragraph of the resolution, in which the Security Council expresses its deep concern "at the situation prevailing on and inside the northern border of Nicaragua, and . . . at the consequent danger of a military confrontation between Honduras and Nicaragua". In view of this situation, can anyone reasonably object to the countries between which there is a danger of war meeting for an immediate bilateral dialogue? We believe that this is precisely the kind of situation referred to by the Contadora Group in its information bulletin of 21 April [S/15727, annex], since by its very nature it is one that requires, as the Group says, bilateral dialogue. It is the sort of case that by its very nature needs bilateral dialogue. We shall continue to support the praiseworthy efforts of the Contadora Group to achieve such a dialogue.

61. We are convinced that it is not through military solutions or the sending of military forces for any purpose to Central American countries that we shall achieve the peace and security that our peoples seek and need. It is through frank and constructive dialogue that we must achieve that objective, and the proof of this may be seen in the achievements arrived at in the search for solutions to problems on our southern border caused by the use of Costa Rican territory, behind the back of the Government of Costa Rica and against its will, to carry out aggression against Nicaragua within the framework of the aggressions orchestrated by the Reagan Administration.

62. I believe that it would be useful and interesting for the Council to become familiar with at least part of Communiqué No. 3, issued at the last meeting of the Nicaragua-Costa Rica Joint Bilateral Commission, held at Managua only two days ago. Allow me to quote from that:

"The third meeting of the Nicaragua-Costa Rica Joint Bilateral Commission was held in the city of Managua on 16 and 17 May 1983. The delegation of Costa Rica was led by Licenciado Manuel Carballo, Vice-Minister of the Republic of Costa Rica. . . . The delegation of Nicaragua was led by Dr. Rodrigo Reyes, Minister and Secretary-General of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction. . . .

"At the meeting, which took place in a cordial, frank and friendly atmosphere, the integration and competence of the Commission were established and a sincere and broad analysis of the relations between Costa Rica and Nicaragua was carried out with regard to all the matters dealt with at the meeting, particularly the situation in the border area and the measures

that could be applied by common agreement by the two States to find a solution.

"The delegation of Costa Rica reported on the machinery that had been adopted by its Government in order to ensure its neutrality and the efforts it is making to prevent the use of its territory by counter-revolutionary elements engaged in activities aimed against the integrity and sovereignty of Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan side stated that it had not been confirmed that any members of the Sandinist People's Army had entered the territory of Costa Rica and that, if any had, it was without the knowledge of the authorities of the Sandinist People's Army, and they noted that the Nicaraguan military authorities would severely punish any such conduct. Both parties reaffirmed their readiness to promote and adopt all the necessary measures, within their jurisdictional limits, to solve the border problems. Both delegations reaffirmed their conviction that bilateral, direct and frank dialogue, as reflected in the work of the Joint Commission, was the most appropriate means of solving any differences or misunderstandings which might arise, particularly between sister countries. Both delegations agreed that the fourth meeting of the Joint Commission would take place in San José, Costa Rica, in July."

63. We believe that peace is possible provided there is the political will to respect the principles embodied in the resolution adopted today. We should like to believe that that political will exists, in which case we should have no reason to come back to the Council to denounce aggression against our country. If it does not, it will be our duty, in exercising our sovereign rights and as a Member of the Organization, once again to come to the Council to demand full compliance with the terms of this resolution or the application of the measures contemplated in the Charter with regard to those that defy the authority of the Council.

64. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of the United States, who wishes to speak in right of reply.

65. Mr. LICHENSTEIN (United States of America): The Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua tests our patience, our tolerance and, indeed, our sense of reality. He has heretofore maligned and misrepresented the policies of my Government and of its elected President. We have responded and I stand by our response. He has heretofore, and again today, maligned and misrepresented the policies and the actions of the Government of Honduras. The representative of Honduras has heretofore responded with fact, and I will not make any attempt to add to what he has put on the record.

66. This morning the Minister of Nicaragua has attempted to rewrite the resolution on which we have voted. My Government stands by its vote—its vote on that text.

67. Finally, I wish simply to reiterate what we have had occasion to say already in the previous proceeding on this

matter and in the present proceeding. At precisely that moment when the Junta of Nicaragua shows a willingness to fulfil its obligations and its promises, which it initiated, to its neighbours and to its own people, there need be no further problems between my Government and people and the Government and people of Nicaragua.

68. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Does anybody else wish to speak? I had the impression that the debate was closed, but we seem to be reopening it. The representative of Honduras has asked to be allowed to speak. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to do so.

69. Mr. ORTEZ COLINDRES (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Honduras will not reopen the debate, but we have an obligation to our country to state its position, since it has been accused by the sister Republic of Nicaragua through its Sandinist Government.

70. In his statement the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua made a mistake using a word that he subsequently corrected. That is precisely the difference between his country and mine. He is mistaken when he used the word "*acatar*", confusing it with the word "*atacar*".

71. We, the people of Honduras, wish to state that we fully respect the Council's extraordinary efforts to find a peaceful solution in keeping with the machinery established by the Charter of the United Nations and with the norms contained therein.

72. In earlier cases and past statements I have put forward arguments defending my Government against the attacks to which we have again been subjected by the Nicaraguan Minister. I simply wish to repeat these to make it clear that our country cannot remain silent in the face of the new veiled threat of war which we have just heard.

73. We should like to address a cordial appeal to our brothers in Nicaragua. It is my impression that when there is a deep-rooted desire to achieve an objective and when good faith is applied with respect to international agreements, it is very easy to reach solutions. The Council, by placing its faith and trust in the subregional Contadora Group, has indicated the body that we must make full use of in order to show, with real diplomatic and political responsibility, that we believe in the sincere effort of these countries to help.

74. As Honduras, at this time when the highest United Nations body has made a recommendation to us, we cannot make *a priori* judgements as to a future failure and a return to this body. Therefore we urge our brothers in Nicaragua, represented by their Minister for External Relations, that on 28, 29 and 30 of this month we should not just sit down at a table to enjoy a frugal meal without being able to speak bilaterally or multilaterally. These are matters of procedure. The Nicaraguan Minister, who is a priest, should have a more profound understanding of the meaning of dialogue. We Hondurans understand it to mean a healthy mental attitude and that we listen to

the other parties and pay attention to their comments and arguments, and in particular that we should adopt an emotional and mental attitude of truly wanting to implant and instil in the heart and mind of the other party the good and pure solution that is the basis of *pacta sunt servanda*, namely, good faith in negotiation among States.

75. Let us stop attacking each other. I should like the Nicaraguan Minister to believe me sincerely. I have served my country for 15 years and I am prepared to continue to do so. We shall strongly urge our Government in good faith to try to establish a definitive solution to our dispute within the Contadora Group. I trust in God—as he does—more than in the watchword “homeland or death”, because I believe that one can establish a homeland to live in rather than think of dying for that sacrosanct concept.

76. I should like to thank the Council for having allowed me to make this brief statement. I should very much like to continue speaking, but I believe it is for the Contadora Group to listen to the two sides and to the

other Central Americans, and with the help of God, we shall not have to return to this forum, since we are going to work on the basis of conciliation, common sense and respect.

77. As regards the concern voiced by the Council about a possible military confrontation between Honduras and Nicaragua, I should like to state once again in the Council that this military confrontation will never be caused by my Government or by the armed forces of my country. With God's help the moderates in Nicaragua will temper feelings and analyse what is the true meaning of the right of self-determination of peoples and the principle of non-intervention.

78. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): There are no further speakers at this time, nor anything else that needs to be said. Therefore, on these words of peace and of promise for dialogue, I adjourn this morning's meeting.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.
